

Otes his Case, Character, Person, and Plot: His
laying of things together. The Observators
Declaration, and Confession. His opinion of
the Papists as well as of the Popish Plot.

TRIM-**S**O that you are upon a Sure Ground, I perceive, for what you da-
MER. **S** in Mr. Otes'es business.

Observer, I am upon a great many sure grounds, *Trimmer*; The sure grounds
of Authority, Law, Reason, Justice, Truth, Honour and Conscience.

Trim. And yet he bears up you see, like another *Athanasius*. Thus against the
World, and the World against *Titus*.

i. Obs. He'd have taken it better to have been coupled with *Judas*, than with *A-*
thanasius: for they two have formerly had some hard words, you must know,
and Otes call'd him a Creed-making Rascal for his pains: But the Guineys and
the Bottles come in still, they say.

Trim. Ay, and he has his friends about him too; and betts ye his money
Nine-pins as free as an Emperor. 'Twould do a man good to see how hear
he'll laugh at an unluckie Tip: But Peace within is a great matter. This cou-
never be, *Nobs*, if all were not well at home: and then for so many dishes of
Meat, the King himself eats no better.

Obs. From whence does all this come, I prethee?

Trim. Why, whence came the Prophets Meat in the Wilderness?

Obs. From Providence, no doubt on't: But the Prophets meat in the Cage I'm
afraid, comes from another Quarter, and we have a roguish Proverb too, in favour
of that Opinion, i.e. The devil helps his servants, Though what he does, 'tis true,
with one hand, he undoes with 't'other; for as fast as the Ravens bring in Ve-
nison Pasties, the Rooks fly away with 'em.

Trim. Such another Quibble turns my stomach: But this is enough to shew
ye, that Otes, and Otes'es Plot are not so low in the reputation of the world, as you
think for.

Obs. As to Otes'es personal credit, thou canst not shew me one action or cir-
cumstance in the whole tract of his life, so much as to colour for't: Nay, he
has employed his Talent from the very Cradle, in lies, scandals, treachery, ma-
lice, revenge, and in the love and practice of wickedness, even for wickedness sake.
[Give me the Bible (says he in Cambridge, upon his Taylors bringing a Bill for
a Gown) and you shall have my Oath upon't, that I never had any such Gown of him
in my life;] though the having of it, and the disposing of it was prov'd undeni-
ably against him. His Oath against *Parker* in *Suffex* was not only prov'd to
be false, but so ridiculously put together, that in four or five particulars

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of the Tale it self, it was morally impossible to be true. His endeavouring to suborn a perjury against the Father of that Parker, when he charg'd him before the King and Council, is upon Oath likewise: To say nothing of his tampering against Coll. Diggs, and several others, in the same manner. Whenever he had a Pique to any body, [I'll have the hearts blood of him] was the very form of the menace. [I'll blow Bellasis's bellows for him; I'll have his hearts blood.] [I'll have the hearts blood of Thimbleby, and of Strange, and of Whitebread,] because they would not admit him into the society. As to his Treachery, I cannot call to mind above one person that ever he was beholden to; but the Charity that put bread in the mouth of this Indigent Varlet, was improv'd into an Evidence against the Benefactor: And for the Clearness of his manners now, there are so many Witneses of his pollutions that way, that he has scarce had a Servant upon whom he has not attempted the vilest of abominations. And he has made as bold with God in his holy Sacraments, and in the mockeries that he has put (with Forethought, Counsel, and Deliberation) upon the most tremendous mysteries of the Christian Religion; as he has upon man in the Violation of all the duties of reasonable nature. And for the credit of his Plot now, I will be answerable to shew ye forty passages wherein he himself does as good as swear that he is forsworn. But to conclude, Set the passages that we know certainly, and infallibly to be false, against those other passages for which we have Otes's Oath, against reason and common sense, that they are true; and faith tell me your self then, upon the main, What you think of Otes's Plot? Keep your tongue in your mouth, Trimmer; or speak according to your Conscience.

Trim. Why Otes may be an ill man, and the Plot yet, a very good Plot for all that.

Obs. Well; but if it be neither credible for the Witness sake, nor for the matter, or coherence of it: What is't, I beseech ye, that you'll bottom your credit upon? Or what if I should ask ye now which part of it you believe? The Narrative was old Tonges: young Tong tells ye long since, that the whole contrivance was a Juggle; Part of it written in the Barbican, part at Fox-Hall; that the original design of it was to remove the Queen, and to destroy the Duke of York; that Otes was advis'd by Tong to go beyond Seas, to get Materials toward the framing of it; and I have papers in my hand of Old Tongs Writing, at this instant, to confirm all this to a syllable. I have proofs from several of Tongs Parishioners, of his offering so much a man per week to those that would go over to the Church of Rome before the Plot brake out; which could be with no other design than to find Mercenary Rogues that would come back again for half a Crown a week more, perhaps, and make Evidences. The five Windfor Letters no body denies to be a Cheat; Pickering's Screw'd-Gun, and Silver Bullets is so ridiculous and Impracticable a Sham, that every body sees thorow it that does but know a Carabin from a Clyster-pipe; the Story of the Ruffians got a Knock in the Cradle, and came the wrong way into the World, under the Curse of Doublings, and Contradictions; Wakemans Poyson, and Conyers's Dagger lay too open and Barefaced to do any



Execution. The people were hair'd out of their wits for fear of a *Massacre* and yet at the same time a greater Army from France, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland, to make a Descent here, and help to beat out the brains of the English Protestants, when the English Papists had cut their throats, then the Christians brought into the Field against the Turks and Tartars, the Last Summer; and the Project Carried so Open too; As if a Price had been sett upon the Kings Head by a Publick Cryer. But finally, call to mind (as I told you t'other day) *Oates's Scandalls* against his most Sacred Majesty, and Believe him if you Dare, And take notice, that it is not Matter of Fact, that he pretends to Assert, but onely throws out the Vomit of a *Viculent*, a *Seditious* and a *Rancourous Spirit*, which Single Circumstance would be sufficient to Destroy his Testimony, even in any other Cause whatsoever.

Trim: You are (as a man may say) upon the Point of casting your Skin *Nobs*; and presenting your self to the World, in your True Colours Come, Faith out with your Beads, and your Trinkets. Be a good Boy, and let's hear you say Your Office. You have Conn'd your Lesson, I make no doubt on't, by this time. 'Twould be a great deal more Generous, to Own and to Declare your self a *Papist* to the whole World, then to lye Wriggling In and Out thus, betwixt two Religions.

Obs. Why then once for all, *Trimmer*, I am a *CATHOLIQUE*, and the very Same *CATHOLIQUE* that I have ever been, and ever Professed my self to Be; That is to say, a *Catholique* of the Church of *England*. Tho I am well enough Content, to Own my self a *Protestant* too, according to the Best Acceptation of the Word, Improperly Speaking, and no Otherwise That Religion, which I Own'd, and Profess'd upon the Sacrament to the Reverend *Dr. Ken*, at the *Hague*; (Now Lord Bishop of *Bath and Wells*) when I was forc'd to run away from a Pack of *Forsworn Miscreants* here, that would have made a *Papist* of me; That very Religion do I Declare my self to be of, This Day; and that I never put Pen to Paper, throughout the Whole Course of this Pretended Plot, in Justification of the *Papists*, with any Regard to their Religion, but out of the very Indignation of my Soul, to see an Outcry against *Popery*, on the One Hand, made a Cover for a *Republican*, and a phanatical Rebellion, on the Other; To see the Church of *England* Struck at in that *Popery*; and every man that did but Talk like a *Christian*, a good Subject, or an honest man to be presently stigmatiz'd for a *Papist*; to see common *Malefactors*, and prostitute *Hirelings*, set up for the Saviours of a Church, and a State; and gain Credit, by kissing the Outside of a Bible, without believing one syllable of the Contents: To see three Kingdoms half eaten up by *Catchpoles*; the lives and Estates of men of Honour sacrific'd to the Rabble; and what with Starving Projects, and Bills of Exclusion, the late King, and the Royal Family treated little better then the meanest Subjects: Neither, in the presence of God, was I ever transported by any partialities of prepossession, into so much as one thought of *Bitterness* against the *Dissenters*, any further, than as

upon Knowledge and sure Experience. I was convinc'd (as I am this Instant) that the *Schism* is only a *Conspiracy*; and a *League* against the *Government*, under the *Masque* of Religion: If you doubt of this, I can summon ye above an hundred and fifty of their own *Doctors* to verify this *Opinion*. I have no interest in this Declaration; but to deliver the truth and simplicity of my very heart; and to confound the malice of all *Slanderers*, *Impostors*, and *Gainlayers*.

Trim. 'Tis a wonderful thing that you should have so great a concern and respect for so many *Papists*, and yet so little for their Religion.

Obs. 'Tis toward a time of *Mortification*, *Trimmer*; and now my hand's in, I'll e'n go thorough with my *Confession*. There are some points in the Church of *Rome* wherein; I verily believe; though we differ in modalities and terms; we agree yet in the same meaning. There are some other points wherein I do as verily believe, the matter capable of such *condescensions* and *abatements*, as both sides might very well close upon, with a just *Deference* to *Christian Charity*, and without offence to the *Catholick Faith*. And herein I have great *Authorities*, and no less than *Grotius* himself to support me. Now as to these reserves, every man stands or falls to his own Master. And this diversity of persuasion in Religion breaks no measures either of *Humanity* or *Civil Government*.

Trim. So: And what say ye now to the *Papists* themselves?

Obs. Why, I do say, That I have an *abhorrence* for all the *Popish Assertors* of the *deposing Principle*, equal to the *detestation* I have for all the *Pretended Protestants*, that embrew'd their hands in the blood of *Charles the First*; and Conspir'd against the lives of *Charles the Second*, and His [Then] *Royal Brother* [Now] (by the *Grace and Providence of God*) Our Dread Sovereign, *James the Second*; upon the same *Diabolical Principle*. But I do again, both in reason and in charity believe, that there's not one *Papist* in a thousand of that persuasion. My reasons are the proofs they have given to the Crown, of their *Active Loyalty*, through a course of *Phanatical Broils*, *Conspiracies* and *Rebellions* of above 40 years continuance, to the hazard of their lives and fortunes, without making any advantage of these *Commotions*, toward the playing of their own Game.

Trim. What d'ye make of the *Irish Rebellion*?

Obs. As barbarous a Rebellion as you your self can make of it: But it was the *Scottish Rebellion* that led 'em the way; and the *Rebellion* afterward of the two Houses that obstructed those reliefs, (and made use of them for the support of the *English Rebellion*) which would otherwise most certainly have confounded the *Irish Insurrection*. Now as the *Schismatics* never fail'd of pinching the Crown themselves whenever they found it under any other sort of distress: So the *Papists* must have this right done them, that they have born the outrages and injuries that have been multiplied upon them by the tumultuary Rabble, with the resignation of good Christians, and of Loyal Subjects.

Trim. Has not Otes prov'd a Plot upon 'em?

Obs. Sworn one, you mean; And pray remember against whom he has Sworn *Treason* besides: And in Oates, some Impossible, others Unlikely; and some again, so insolent, and Incredible, together, that no reasonable man in his right Wits either Does, or Can, or Dares pretend to believe him.

Trim.

TRIM. 'Twas a Thousand Pittys you were Cut-off Last Saturday in the Middle of your Panegyrick upon the Papist. They are a Loyal People you say; a Patient, and a Resigning People; Pray let's have a touch at their Moralls now; The Sobriety of their Conversation; and in short; why not the Story over again that we have had so often already of Old acquaintance; Conversation, and the many Obligations they have laid upon you? Nay, Methinks, you have prettily well compounded the matter of Religion with 'em, you have met 'em half way, and left it a measuring-cass, whether you'll come home again a Protestant, or a Papist.

OBSERVATOR. Why this 'tis now, for a man to have Eyes in his Head, and not to be mad, for company! He that will not run away from the Sound of Popery at the Breach of him, like a Dog with a Marrow-bone at his Tail, and beat out his brains full-but against Sr. Patricks memorial of the burning of the Protestant-City in Pudding-Lane; shall be enter'd, forsooth, in the Black Book of the [MEN-WORTHY,] and Popishly-affect'd. My Lord-Mayors pack of Hounds may be in the right, I'll allow ye; but the Common Cry of the Mobile, never took a true Scent in this world yet: That is to say; upon a true principle of distinction; what they may do by chance, is another matter. Things can never go well, so long as Religion is made a Cloak for a Faction. And that men take up Articles of Faith, in spite, and Contradiction. The Papists hope to be sav'd by their Good works. Now if a man goes presently, and robs Churches, and cuts throats upon't, 'tis an admirable invention to keep himself out of that danger. [I won't believe this, or that, because the papists believe it;] is just as much to the purpose, as if a body should say, I'll go upon my head because the Papists go upon their heels. This is the way to turn the Mysteries of the Christian Faith into Romance; and fright the multitude into an Abjuration of Christianity it self, for fear of popery. The Question is not, what such or such a Society of Men Believe; But Every Sober man, will enform himself the best he may, what it is that he himself Ought to believe; and not stop there, neither, without taking this along with him, that believing, without doing, is but the One-half of a Christians Lesson; And that your lively Faith, (according to the Vulgar Understanding of it) will avail ye little, without the Manifestation of it by your works. Now the seeking of peace; the studying of quietness; the doing of good to all Men; and the Exercise of Offices of Humanity, and tenderness, wherever we find a Subject for them; These [AGENDA] are duties, I say, in common, to all Man-kind, whether Christian or Pagan: Duties, that we are obliged to, as well by the dictates of nature, as by the precepts of the gospel. And the Impulse is no other then a Ray of the divine goodness, shed into the reasonable Soul, by the Benignity of a gracious providence, to dispose us towards the discharge of those Offices, which Humanity, as well as Religion, requires at our hands. There may be, (and there is, many time, undoubredly) an Invincible ignorance, in the matter of Notional truths; But there can be no excuse pleaded!

pleaded for a perverse practice, in opposition to the Light of an *universal Impulse*: and 'tis a *Senclefs* thing, to talk of piety, in the exercise of *Rigour*, or *malice*, against any man, or any sort of men, barely for *Opinion*, without either *Charity* or *Mercy*. Men may help doing; but they cannot help thinking. The *Winds* from all the points of the *compass*, never wrought so much *mischief* to this *Isterd*, in bringing the *Sea* upon us, As liberty of conscience has done, in the more *destructive Inundation*, of an unbound'd schisme, and they have gotten a trick too, of covering all Religions but popery, under the *Cant* of the *Protestant* Religion; The reformed Religion; and our Religion: (which is a mighty business I warrant ye) Now let *Ten Thousand Millions* of *Monks*, Open, as many Several ways, to the tune of our Religion: and that same [*Our Religion*] looks *East, West, North, and South*; Answers the whole cry, and Stops every mouth of 'em. Pray observe now, that under this Generality, and blind, the *Common People* are so far impos'd upon, as to take every man for a *Papist*, that will not *Subscribe* to this *protestant*; this *Reformed*; This *Our Religion*, at large; when, upon the whole matter 'tis nothing but a most *Pernicious Imposture*, and abuse, wrapt-up in *Popular Terms*.

Trim. Nay faith, Now y'are in the *Vein* on't; E'en let the thing it self be an *Imposture*, and an abuse, as well as the *Meaning* on't.

Olj. Soft. and fair, *Trimmer*. The expression is good enough, if it does not speak one thing, and intend another: But if it hold forth one thing to the Government, and Another, to the Faction, 'tis, beyond Controversy, no better than a *Holy Cheat*.

Trim. So that if a man cannot prove what he thinks, You are at liberty, to make what *Construction* you please, of what he says.

Olj. No No. Ple set ye Clear of that difficulty; and you shall see, I will do it in away of respect too, after this manner, for the purpose now.

May it please your *Lordskip*, *Your Reverence*, or *Your Worship*, (all after as it happens) to explain your self upon the Word, *PROTESTANT*. if you speak of the *Church of England*, under the care of *Episcopal Governors*, and as it is by Law establish'd in *Doctrine*, and discipline, Give that Religion what denomination you please, I'm for it: But if you have a Secret reserve to your self, of *Comprehending Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, and all the other Sects that call themselves *Protestants*, for protesting against *Popery*; I am not of that *Protestant* Religion; and whoever swallows that generality, as a Test of his persuasion, Enters into a kind of *Combination* (with your *Honours*, *Your Reverences*, or *Your worships leaves*) to confound the very Religion, which he desires to preserve: And, into little better, then a *Confederacy* with known, and open Enemies, against his dearest Mother, and Friends: Neither do I take it to be any proof of a true Religion, Barely to protest against a false one: For that may be the case of only combating the errors of one Religion with the more *Enormous* *Impieties* of a thousand worse.

Trim.

Trim. Would you'd bring it to some issue once?

Obs. Take it in a word, then; whoever refuses to expound his meaning, in such a case, does most, certainly mean the worst on't. and now may it please your &c. once again; There's the same snare under the word [*Reform'd*,] as under [*Protestant*,] and as much need of explaining it, least when a man thinks to declare for the constitution, he be drawn in, (as it was in the *one and forty protestation*) by an exposition *Ex post Facto*, to an engagement for the *Schisme*: But then comes [*OUR RELIGION*,] that (without some explicit limitation, or restriction) raises a very *Hubub*; fires the *Beacons*; and takes in *Turks, Jews, and Gentiles* into the comprehension. Why our Religion is any Religion; all *Religions*, or no *Religion at all*; especially out of so many mouths, of as many several minds: And therefore Religion is not a thing to be trilled with; at this dark, dubious, and unintelligible rate, without fixing some mark, Name, or appellation upon it; And therefore let 'em either say our *Popish Religion*, or our *Ibanatical Religion*; or our Religion established by Law; and a body knows where to have 'em; but to set up a 100 false *Religions*, in a protestation to oppose one; and then to make one true Religion, out of a hundred contradictions; is to erect a multitude of Gods, and to Set up *Altar against Altar*; and on the other hand; to extract a compound of Truth out of a confusion of errors. So that let a Son of the Church of Rome be what he will; the Son of a hundred and fifty Churches is at least a *hundred and nine and forty times*; worse. And now to go back again; All these together are *Otes Mother Church*. Well! 'Tis a heavy fellow that! But affliction is a great *Clarifier* of the understanding; And I fancy; that he will have the wit yet; (if not the Grace to make the world the wiser for him; before he leaves it.

Trim. He's resolute; you see; his Friends stick to him: He wants for nothing; and he's in a condition now; let me tell ye; to try who are his Friends; and who are his Enemies.

Obs. Away Away *Trimmer*: Thou hast at least *Fifty fust places* in that head of thine. 'Tis a tryal of their discretion; not of their Friendship: For they love him; only as the *Indians* do the *Deville* for fear he should hurt 'em: For whenever they leave him; he will most certainly tell tales; and so soon as ever the Law shall put him wholly out of condition of being any longer an evidence • The very *Guinney* and *Bottle-men*; shall be the first to throw rotten eggs at him. 'Tis expedient indeed; for the Faction; that there should be a plot: But yet as to the witness there's not one of a thousand of 'em; when he's put to't in private; that will not call ye *Otes* as many *Rascalls* as ever he call'd the *Not-Guilty Lords*. This is so true; so manifest; and so notoriously known; that a man needs but set his foot in any *Coffee-house*; to see it *Confirm'd*. Nay *Otes* is a great Rogue; (says one) But certainly he must needs have heard something Nay there's nobody can justify *Otes*, (says another) Nay faith, (says a third) If he were turn'd off the Cart, he should e'en hang long enough for my part, before I

took him down: And these are men, (as *Otes* said in the bitterness of his Spirit, when the Brasier arrested him;) that two year ago would as soon have committed a Sin against the Holy Ghost; as have done such a thing. Now if this Poor Devil has but the soul of a Snail, he'll say thus to himself, [*Here am I*] a Wicked, a Forsworn, a Murderous, a Despis'd, an Accursed, and an Abandon'd Wretch. *Justice has laid hold of me, and I am become a Spectacle to Men and Angels, to see what will become of me.* As to the Sin and Shame of the business, the Oaths, and the innocent blood, the malice, the revenge, and other dribblets of *Concupiscence* and *Humane Frailty*, the *Pillories*, and the *Capital Letters*; the *Huzza's* of the *Mobile*, when I mount the Stage, in exchange for the *Hosanna's* I had formerly, when I went to give *Evidence*, &c. All this, I say, breaks no bones; and betwixt my *Forehead*, my *Philosophy*, and my *Conscience*, I am able to digest as much as this comes to, I bless my Stars for't. But then they talk of *Whipping-Posts*, *hot Irons*, and other *humane Inventions of Mortification*, that do not agree altogether so well as the other, with my constitution: (*And the Common Law they say has a devillish reach that way.*) Why, What if I am a Rogue? It has been for the Service of Greater Rogues than my self; and 'tis One Thing to swear for 'em, Another Thing to Draw and Hang for 'em the Devil! and I to make a Greater Scruple now, of *One True Oath*, *Who Sett me on*; *Who paid me my Wages*, &c. then I have don all this while of an Hundred False Ones.]

Trim. How the Devil dances! Why if it should come to This once; Let him Swear his Heart out, there will no body Believe him.

Obf. Dost thou imagine that he is not able to bring a great part of this contrivance to light, by other hands: He'll tell ye, Who wrote the *Windsor Letters*; Who put him upon accusing the Queen, and the Duke; Where it was that *Bedloe* and He went to School together to learn their lessons. Why the very Copy of a Second-True Narrative, by way of a *Kiddernminster Paraphrase* upon the Text of the old Old True Narrative, would be worth five hundred pound to him in ready dast: His *Alexandrian Version* of the *Septuagint* was nothing to't. He'll tell ye whose *Buffoon* he was when he spung'd for his passage from *Callis* to *Dover* (in *June* (not *April*) 1678) when he Canted for his Ordinary; and [*I ha' drunk many a Pot of Good Ale*] was the *Bob* of the Song. For the last word now, He is yet an *arranter Fool* then ever I took him for, *If he falls alone.*

(9)
O B S E R V A T O R.

The Method of our late Troubles. (Meaning the late Rebellion) Clemency and Patience was the ruine of Charles the First. No enduring of Popular Managers. The Peoples Patriots prov'd their Oppressors. A Faction's House of Commons Destroyed the King, the Church, and the three Kingdoms.

TRIM. I Have wondred many a time within my self, as I have been thinking of Our Late Troubles----

OBSERVATOR. (The Late Rebellion, thou meanest.)

Trim. How it was possible for the men of those times----

Obs. (The Conspirators, that is.)

Trim. To run-down Charles the First:---

Obs. (Prethee frame thy mouth to a little Loyal English once; and call it murdering their most Gracious Sovereign, that Blessed Martyr.)

Trim. How this was possible (I say) considering that the King had, at that time the whole Strength of the Nation at his Command: He had the Shipping, the Militia, all the considerable Ports, and Strong-Holds, all the Magazines of Arms and Ammunition in his own hands.

Obs. Now I have been casting that business in my thought, clear another way, and concluded it impossible for any Prince to preserve himself under the circumstances of that season. For the Rebels here at home had effectually gain'd the Victory before ever a blow was struck. The Scene opened in Scotland in 1637, and the matter was then concerted betwixt the Conspirators of both Kingdoms. In February, of the same year, they Erected four Tables for ordering the affairs of the Government. 1. Nobility. 2. Gentry. 3. Burroughs. 4. Ministers; and these four were to prepare matters for a General Table, consisting of so many Commissioners selected out of all the rest. Their first business was a Covenant, and by vertue of that Covenant they presently exercised all Acts of Sovereignty, levied men and arms, and brake out into an actual Rebellion. In 1638. the King, at a prodigious expence both to himself, and to his Friends, led a considerable Army against them; and when he had the Scots at Mercy within two miles of Berwick; he was prevail'd upon by some Presbyterian Lords, to come to an agreement upon certain Articles of Pacification; the Scots brake Faith with him upon every point; And the loss of that opportunity, by trusting a party that never kept touch either with God or man, was the foundation of that pious Princes ruine. This Pacification was concluded, June 17. 1639.

Trim. Why thou art spinning out an Observer to the length of an History

Obs. No, no. I'll come to your Point now in six words; that believing, charitable Prince, went on still trusting, yielding, and hoping the best, till he found his Fathers Protestation verified by rufal Experience, That [neither Oaths, nor Promises can bind them.] The truth of it is, His Majesty was too tender-natur'd,

and too good a Christian to be a happy King over such a people. For they turn'd all his Royal Bounties to his loss. He gave, and granted, till there was nothing more to ask, or almost to wish for, *saving the Crown it self*: And that followed by a natural consequence; for the *Concessions* on the one hand did but serve to enflame, to provoke, and to encourage an endless Importunity on the other. In so much, that the King had effectually given away his Power before he came to assert his Prerogative; and the Conspiracy was suffered to come to a Head before there was any vigorous attempt to crush it. Whereas a *Constable*, a *Missenger*, or a *Sergeant at Arms* would have done more at the beginning then twenty thousand men afterward in the field.

Trim. Come, come. There's no resisting the *Torrent of the multitude*.

Obs. Or rather on the other side, There's no trusting of the common people in the hands of popular *Managers*; No sort of tampering with them is to be endur'd either in Church or State. He that so much as tells them they are in danger, implies a scandal upon the *Government*; and all publick Insinuations and Complaints are no better than *Libels*. Whosoever looks into the story of those times, will find that *Knaves and Fools* were the two principal Actors in that *Tragedy*. The *One's* part was to invent Slanders and lies, the *Others* to believe and publish them; the one to consult, the other to execute; the one to dictate, to direct, and to command; the other to resign, and to obey. The *rancours and animosities* of those days in the matter of Religion, were created, heightened, and irritated by an artificial manage of the passions of the multitude; and no men so solicitous for the preserving of their Religion, as those that ran counter to the Principles of all Religions, and effectually had none to lose: And he *same* break took 'em again, for fear of their *Civil Liberties*, under a Prince so tender and merciful, that he lost his Crown and his Life by indulging the Importunities of a *Sanguinary and Inflexible Faction*. They were *Gigg'd* in the Head too with the danger, forsooth, of losing their Bibles; when yet their Leaders, with an Ordinance of Parliament made a shift to over-rule the Doctrine of *Christ and his Apostles*; and the men that put these *crotchets* in their crown, were much more solicitous for the *keeping-up* of their *fears and jealousies*, than for the danger of their Bibles: For when their *Imaginations* were once tainted, there was no difficulty in the World of making them take any other Impressions: For they saw no longer with their own eyes: They took no measures any longer by their own *Understandings*; they neither believ'd, nor acted any longer by their own *Judgments*: But as passive as so many *Beasts*, they were manag'd by the *Bit and the Spur*, at the pleasure of the *Rider*. I shall not need to tell you, *Trimmer*, to what degree of Wickedness, and of Desperation, the *Visionary Images* of a *false Holiness*, and of false *Dangers*, transported them, till in the Conclusion, they found too late, and to their miserable cost, that they had cast away their Lives, Souls, Liberties and Estates, for Shadows, and thrown themselves in to the Devils mouth, for fear of their best friends.

Trim. But there were *Grievances, Monopolies, Innovations, several Exaltations, and Impositions*; (as I have been told) and things of that kind abundantly to work upon. But all this was before my time; and so I can speak only upon *Books, and Hearsay*.

Obs. First, the *Faction, Created Fears and Jealousies*, and then those *fears and jealousies* created all sorts of *Grievances* that the *Cabal* had a mind to; so that in short; you take the matter by the wrong handle all this while; and cast the *cause* of the *Quarrel* on the wrong side. The *Fault* was not the *Government*, but the *people*; and that which you take for an *Oppression* on the one hand, was really a *Conspiracy* on the other. When the people were once poysoned and stung with ill *Impressions* concerning the *Government*, they presently turn'd their *thoughts and applications* to the saving of their *Stakes* by some other *Interest*; and found no fairer way for the gaining of their *Point*, then by ranging themselves under the *protection* of an *ambitious, vindictive, necessitous, or Faction's Party* of male-content, in one common *Band of Confederacy* against the present *State*. The first considerable operation of these *fears and jealousies* shew'd it self in the choice of a *Popular House of Commons*, which, for the greater part, were indeed of the peoples *Election*, but of the *Nomination* of the *Cabal* that turn'd-out, and took-in at pleasure; and with the help of the *Mobile in the Lobby*, laid the foundation of a publick ruine.

Trim. I have nothing to say to the honesty either of their *principles*, or their *proceedings*: But they were men certainly of *Brains and Business*, and most watchfully industrious for the improving of all opportunities to their *advantage*. Where they had one friend throughout the *Kingdom*, a man may safely affirm, that they had ten *Enemies*; nay, and when they were torn to pieces among themselves, the common *Adversary* never made any profit yet of their *Divisions*.

Obs. And how came that about, d'ye think?

Trim. Why, what party soever was uppermost, the *Episcopal men, and the Loyallists* were still kept under foot; disarm'd, impoverish'd, and formally unqualified for any Office, or place of *Trust Military or Civil*: Not a man of 'em to *Elect*, or be *Elected* to serve in parliament, or into any other publick Business: As for Example now, no man to have a Voice, or be *Elected*, that shall not first take the *Covenant*. Dec. 20. 1643. *Husbands Collections*. Part 2d. Fol. 404. *Delinquents disabled again*. Oct. 4. 1647. *Scobells Collection*. Fol. 135. And again also, Oct. 8. 1652. Fol. 209. The same over again, the *Proclamation*, Sept. 21. 1655. And what do you think of the *Parliaments Qualifications*, in their *Humble Petition, and Advice* to the *Lord Protector* of May 25. 1657. And afterward, of their *Additional Petition and Advice* of June 16. following, for the choice of Members to serve in Parliament? [No man to *Elect*, or to be *Elected* that had Aided, Abetted, Advised, or Assisted in any War against the Parliament, since the First of Jan. 1641. With

Without some signal Testimony given afterward, of his affection to the Parliament, or the Protector. None to Elect, or be Elected, that had been Engag'd in any Plot, Conspiracy or Design against the person of the Protector, or in any Insurrection, or Rebellion in *England or Wales*, since *Decemb. 1653* one and forty Commissioners, (whereof five to be a *Quorum*) to judge of the qualifications of the persons chosen: And 10000. set upon their heads that should be found *unqualified*. [C. bel. Part. 2. 378. 379. 382.] Was not this a very good way now to secure the Peace of the Government? And so their method of disarming all *Malignants*, and keeping Ejected Ministers, and Fellows of Colledges out of all manner of Employment: As was provided by a *Declaration* of Nov. 24. 1655. And divers Ordinances of Parliament.

Obs. Nay, 'twas morally impossible for the *Cavaliers* ever to do any good on't, under those circumstances.

Trim. And it would have been every jot as impossible to have kept things quiet, if they had gone any other way to work. There were no *Certificates* or *Recommendations* heard of, in those days, upon *presumption*, *confidence*, *charitable conjecture*, *Verily persuaded*, or the like: But the *Word* was, [Shew me thy Faith by thy works] What has he done publicly? Has he *Abjur'd*, has he bid open *Defiance* to all his former *Confederates*? Has he ventur'd his life, limb, or Estate for the Cause when he might have slept in a whole Skin? I hate to hear people talk of a *private*, or *clandestine* Confession, of a *publick*, *crying-Sin*. By my troth *Nobs*, I can never believe any man to be a *Convert*, that does not go thorough the whole discipline of a true penitent. In a word, I would set up this Rule to my self: never to undertake for any mans honesty, to the publick, if I would not venture my Estate upon't in private.

Obs. Nay, I have wondred forty times to see a *Rascals* word taken for the safety of three *Kingdoms*, that the whole *three Kingdoms* together would not have trusted for a *Brunigen* Groat in ready Money: but still the case of the poor *Cavaliers* was very hard, methinks.

Trim. No more, then what was barely and absolutely necessary for the preserving of the publick Peace. They had no way in the world to support themselves, but by keeping their enemies out of play, and the Law in their own hands. And then they were as careful whom they trusted, as whom they admitted. Not a man would they suffer to set foot within those *Legislative Walls*, but upon the security of *Body, Soul, and Estate* for his good behaviour. So that by these strictnesses they made themselves all of a piece, and gain'd their point: (And He's the wisest man certainly, that works sure.) The sense of the House was the sense of the Nation: And when they had once set up an *Authority* not to be disputed, and possess themselves of a power not to be resisted, they might have Rul'd, and Reign'd, if it had not been for their own *Divisions*, in *Sacula Seculorum*. And so let it rest till to morrow.

One *Faction* House of Commons Ruin'd Three Kingdoms. The Imaginary Power of Votes, and Priviledges, above Establish'd Laws. Reason of State holds One Government as well as in another.

**OBSER-
VATOR.** **T**O be Sequestr'd, Imprison'd, Plunder'd, Disarmed and Unqualified for any, *Publique Office, Trust, or business*, for a matter of Eighteen or Twenty years together: And throughout some Twelve, or Thirteen *Revolutions*, (whoever got uppermost (for the *Cavaliers* to be kept still Under-Hatches, unless they would *Swear* against their *Judgments*, and *Consciences*; Renounce the *King*, and the *Church*, and Enter into a *Diabolical League* with *Rebells*, ! You cannot Deny, *Trimmer*, but that this was very *Hard Measure*; And so much the Worse too, for that all this *Violence Tyranny*, and *Injustice* was Exercis'd by the *Pretended Champions*, for the *Honour* of the *King*, the advancement of the *Church*, the *Preservation* of the *Protestant Religion*, and the *Liber-
ties* of the *People*.

TRIMMER. You would fain bring This now, from a *Point of State*, to a *Question of Conscience*. I have nothing to say, either to the *Equity* or *Honesty*, or the *Humanity* of the *Proceeding*: But according to the *Ordinary Measures* of *Prattia le Prudence*, they had no Other way to *Maintain* what they had *Gotten*, then *Avoiding* those *Rocks* upon which the other *Party* *Splut*, and *Miscary'd*. As to the *Business* of *Sequestering*, *Imprisoning*, *Plundering*, *Disarming*, This was a way indeed to *Crush* the *Cavaliers*, when they had 'em *Down*: But then 'twas not a thing to be *Done*, till they had first gotten the *Power* into their *Hands*, and if you look into the *Bottom* of the *Matter*, you will find it was their *Exclusions*, *Exceptions*, *Qualifications*, and the *Regling* of their *Elections*, that did the *Work*. The *Corrupting* of a *House of Commons* is like the *Poysoning* of a *Fountain*, and the *Contagion* must *Work* there, before the *Pest* comes to be *Evidential*. The *Sneaker* is as *Infallible* in *St. Stevens Chair*, as his *Holiness* *Himself*, in *St. Peters*; and when *Religion*, *Law*, and *Reason* come to be decided by a *Majority of Voices*; The *Vox Populi* in the *Lobby*, passes for *Vox Dei* in the *Chappel*; And every *Vote*, for a *Sanction*, to the *Issue* of the *Debate*: As I remember very well in the late *Case* for the *Easing* of *Dissenters* &c. [That the prosecution of *Protestant-Dissenters* upon the *Penal Laws*, was at that time *Grievous* to the *Subjects*; a *Weakening* of the *protestant Interest*; *Encouragement* to *Pottery*, and *Dangerous* to the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*.] That *Single* [Resolved upon *Question*] went further with the *People*, you see, then I know not how many *Acts of Parliament*, with as many [*Roy le Veults*] to the *Contrary*; And so for the *Impeachment* of *Fitz-Harris*; the *Obstru-
cting* of the late *Kings Supplies*: And, betwixt You and Me, *Nob*, the *Protest-
ing* against his *Credit*, as well as against the *Augmentation*, or the *Maintenance* of his *Revenue*. In One Word; Every thing passes with the *Adulthood* for *Sacred*, that comes from within *Those Walls*.

Obs.

Obs. You talk at a Rate, as if the *People of England* took their *Representatives* in *Parliament*, for the *Supreme Authority* of *This Nation*.

Trim. Well Well! Let them take 'em for what they *Will*, You know very well, that in our late *Troubles* they were *Any thing* to the *Multi-tude*, that they *Said* they were; They *Assum'd*, and they *Exercis'd* the *Powers* that they *Pretended* to. They *Did* in short, whatever they had a *Mind* to do; and [*Resolv'd upon the Question*] was a *Superseas* to all *Other Powers*, and *Obligations*. I *Defy* the *Earth*, to *Point me out Any One Instance* (though the most *Extravagant* in *Nature*) that did not fall within the *Compass* of *Their Priviledges*. Pray take *Notice*, that I am not here upon the *Honesty* of their *Practices*; but upon the *Policy* of their *Proceedings*. Did they not *Interpret*, *Declare*, *Qualify*, *Suspend*, and *Expound Laws* as they *pleas'd*? Was not the *Sense* of the *House* the *Test* of our *Religion*, and *Liberties*? Did they not *Seize*, and set at *Liberty*, *Impeach* or *Excuse*; *Arraign* or *Condemn*, as they found the *One*, or the *Other* for their *Interest*, or *Convenience*? Did they not do more by an *Ordinance* then ever any *King of England* took upon him to do, either by *Prerogative*, or by *Law*? Who could call any thing his *Own*, if they but said the *Cause* had *Need* of it? There was but the *Thicknes* of the *House-of-Commons-door*, betwixt a *Traitor*, and a *Patriot*, for the very *Same Words*, or *Actions*; as if the *Chapel*, had *Consecrated* the *Treason*. Were not all the *Courts of Justice* *Resolv'd* into a *Close Committee*? And was not the *Casting Voice*, in *All Causes* whatsoever, made the *Ultimate Arbitrator* of the *Controversy*.

Obs. But do you reckon it *Fair Play*, all this while, to carry-on a *Cause* by *Conspiracy*, *Corruption*, *Oppression*, *Scandal*, and *Imposture*.

Trim. *Fair or Foul Play*, is not the *Question*: But so long as they *Shuffled* and *Cut*, among *Themselves*, and *Dealt*, and *Play'd* into *One Anothers Hands*, they made sure of the *Game*. Now I'll give ye leave to say what ye will of the *Cause*: Provided you will but *Grant* that it was *Manag'd* according to *Art*: For by *Excluding* all the *Adversaries* of their *Interest*, they had a *Clear Field* to *Themselves*, and became, both *Parties*, and *Judges*. The *House* was made a *Sanctuary*, to all *Intents*, and *Purposes*; and a *Breach of Priviledge*, in those days, was such another kind of *Bus'ness*, as the *Ridiculing of the Popish Plot*, has been made *Since*. The *Five Members* were *Protected* by *Priviledge*; *Magna Charta* broken and, *Evacuated*, by *Priviledge*. Men were *plunder'd* & *Jail'd*, and *Hang'd-up* by *priviledge*; The *King's Authority* taken from his *Person*, and *Vested* in the two *Houses*, by *priviledge*: Tell 'em of the *Royal power*, of an *Imperial prince*; They make him a *Trustee* presently, for the *Good* of the *People*; His *Office* *Forfeitable*; And that is *Their part* to take care in such a case, *Ne quid Derrimenti Capiat Respublica*: And the same *Colour* serv'd them for the *Seizure* of the *Militia*, and the *publique Revenues*, into their *Own Hands*. Now this could never have been, if *All their Majorities* had not been of the same *Leaven*, and all the *Royalists* utterly shut of their *Council*.

Obs.

Obs. Ay, but here are a great many things *Supos'd*, that are directly *Contrary* to the *Known Law*. The *Sovereignty* of the *Crown* is brought down to the *Bar* of the *Servants* of the *Common People*; and the *Multitude*, in the *Mean Time*, *Housted* on to the *Bench*, to give *Judgment* upon the *Issue*. Every body knows that the *Kings Prerogatives* are *Bounded*, and *Stated*; though he's a *Savvy Subject*, let me tell ye, that undertakes to *Limit*, and to *Prescribe* them; In such a manner as to say, Thus far a *Prince* may go, and no further, : For a private Man is out of his *Province*, when he presumes to *Intermeddle* with Points that lye only betwixt *God* and his *Sovereign*. Let him keep to his *Duty* of *Considering* what a *Subject* Ought to do, without *Stretching* his *Enquiries* into the uttermost Terms of what a *King* may take upon him to do.

Trim. Hark ye, *Nobs*, 'Tis an Idle Thing to *Cue*, or to *Plead*, either *Law* or *Scripture*, to people that have the Power of *Interpreting* Both in their own Hands. Nay let the Text be never so *Explicit*, there are *Certain* *Impl'y'd* Conditions, of the *Law* of *Nature*, and self-preservation, that they still made use of, as an *Exception* to the *General Rule*: *Touch not mine Anointed*, was apply'd to the *People*. Let every *Soul* be subject to the *Higher Powers*; If *Mr. Baxter* had been the *Paraphrast*, would have been *Expounded*, Let every *Body* be *Subject* to the *Longer Sword*. And then a *Nemine Contradictione* has one *Mark* (*Unity* that is) of an *Indubitable Truth*. Ask them [*how Laws* are to be *Understood*, and *Obedience* *Yielded*] Their answer is [*That there is in Laws*, an *Equitable*, and *Littoral* Sence; and when there is certain appearance, or *Grounded* *Suspition*, *That the Letter of the Law* shall be *Emprov'd* against the *Equity* of it, (*That is*, the *Publique Good*, whether of the *Body Real*, or *Representative*) then the *Commander* going against it's *Equiry*, gives *Liberty* to the *Commanded* to refuse *Obedience* to the *Letter*. *Exact Collect.* P. 150.] *This* was the *Doctrine* of *April 1642*. And it held through all the *Charges* in our *Late* *Revolutions*. [*We have* (*we have* says *Cromwell*) in our own *Judgment* such *Clear*, and *Convincing* *Grounds* to *Justify* our *proceedings* wth [*The Cavaliers*] which could scarcely be expected in *Cases* of *Secret Treasons*, and *Conspiracies*: a *Bare* *correspondence*, wherein, hath been always accounted capital: And if the *Supreme Magistrate* were in *These* *Cases* Ty'd up to the *Ordinary Rules*, and had not a *Liberty* to proceed, upon *Illustrations* of *Reason*, against *Those* who are *Continually* *Suspected*, there would be *Wanting* in such a *State* the *Means* of *Common Safety*. A *Declaration* of his *Highness* by the *Advice* of his *Council*. *Oct. 31. 1655. p. 36.*] And then he says again. [*That* *character* of *Difference* between them, and the *Rest* of the *People*, is *Occasion'd* by *Themselves*, not by *us*. There is nothing they have more *Industriously* *Labour'd* in then *This*; To keep themselves *Separated* and *Distinguished* from the well affected of this *Nation*: To which *End* they have kept their *Conversation* *a-part*, (as if they would *Avoid* the very *Beginnings* of *Union*) They have *Bred*, and *Educated* their *Children* by the *Sequester'd* and *Ejected* *Clergy* lb. p. 38. And therefore

therefore we leave to all Mankind to Judge, whether we ought not to be *Time-ly Jealous of that Separation*; And to proceed against them, as They may be at the Charge of those Remedies which are required against the Dangers they have bred. Ib. p. 30.] And once again. [*Admit that some of that party were as Innocent as some would have it Believ'd they were*, Enough hath been done by their *Fellows* in a *Common Cause* (which hardly any of them know how to *Dis-own*; which they *Love* and of which they *Glory*) to draw the *Whole Party* under a *Just Suspicion*, and the consequence thereof. All that are peaceably Mind-ed in the Nation are ready to say [*These are the Men of whom we go in danger*:] And certainly It is both *Just*, and *Necessary*, that All those of whom the *Peo-ple* have reason to be afraid, (not only as their *Profess'd Enemies*, but also *Numerous*) should pay for securing the State against *That Danger*, which they themselves were the Authors of. Ib. p. 37.] This was published in Justifi-cation of an Extraordinary Tax; upon the *Cavaliers*; And I Cite These Passages as so many *Instances* of their *political prudence*: And what was it that Enabled the party to do so many great Things, but the keeping of their *par-liaments*, their *Councils* and all *Offices* and *Places*, that were *Considerable*, ei-ther for *Trust's profit*, or *Reputation*, *Clear*, not only of known, and open, but of doubtfull, and Suspected *Enemies*. To make and end on't, if they had not Barr'd the *Royallists* out of their *Councils*, and *Parliaments*, they could never have kept themselves *One six month above Water*.

Obs. Prethee Turn the Tables now, and bless the Providence of being un-der so *Mercifull* a *Government*, that renders only *Good*, for *Evil*. The *Roya-lists*, 'tis True, were Perpetually at work some way or Other, to Distract, and to confound the *Rebells*; But then they had the *Scriptures*, and the *Law* on their side; and all their Endeavours were warranted, by an *Indispensable Duty*, to *G O D*, their *K I N G*, and their *C O U N T R Y*; while the oppressi-on, and Tyranny that was Excis'd over them by the Other Party, had all that could be *Impious*, in the very *Foundation* and *Aquisition* of their power; Beside the *Arbitrary* the *Malicious*, and the *Bloudy Methods* of executing it. Take the very *Reason* of the case now abstracted from the *Qualifications* of it; and there's the Same Argument for *excluding* the *Faction* at this day that there was formerly for *excluding* of *Honest Men*: I do not speak of it as a thing *Needfull*, as Matters now stand: For 'tis reasonable to presume that people will have the *Brains*, and the *Good Manners*, not to make choice of Men, of *Known* *affections*, either to the *Person* of his Sacred Maje-sty, or to the *Frame* of the establish'd *Government*: Because 'tis past that time of day, for me to set up themselves *Barefac'd*, in a *Spitfull Opposition* against the *Constitution*. Nay, or to put it so much as to the *Hazard*, even of a *Doubtfull Case*, and running the risque of a *Mistake*, where they may be *Morally sure* They will have the *Conscience* also, as well as the wisdom, to *Reflect* upon't, that *Charles* the First and Three *Kingdoms*, were *Rein'd* by the *Vulgar Error*, and *Inmaginations*; That the *Government* wanted *Reforming*, till their *Fears* were brought upon them by their *Follies*; and that the very *Men* that they *Ador'd*, as the most *Eminent Protestants*, and *Pat-ri-ots*, Carry'd their *Religion* only betwixt their *Teeth*, while in their *Manners*, and *practices*, they were no other then *Down right Atheists*. They will consider, that *Tumultuary Elections*, brought forth *Tumultuary Debates* and *Resolutions*; and that the *Peace*; and prosperity of the *publique*, will never be promoted by the *Enemies* of our *Prince* & our *Religion*.

B  L

16.9.77

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